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Being ready to depart, the great Giaga staid us, and desired our boat to pass his men over the river Cova, for he determined to overrun the realm of Benguele, which was on the north side of the river Cova. So we went with him to his camp, which was very orderly, intrenched with piles of wood; we had houses provided for us that night, and many burthens (loads) of palm-wine, cows, goats, and flour. 175^x
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In the morning before day, the general did strike his *gongo*, which is an instrument of war that soundeth like a bell, and presently made an oration with a loud voice, that all the camp might hear, that he would destroy the Benguelas, with such courageous and vehement speeches as were not to be looked for among the heathen people. And presently they were all in arms, and marched to the river side, where he had provided Gingados.¹ And being ready with our boat and Gingados, the general was fain to beat them back because of the credit who should be first. We carried over eighty men at once, and with our muskets we beat the enemy off, and landed, but many of them were slain. By twelve of the clock all the Gagas were over. [726]

Then the general commanded all his drums, *tavales*, *petes*, *pongos*, and all his instruments of warlike music to strike up, and gave the onset, which was a bloody day for the Benguelas. These Benguelas presently broke, and turned their backs, and a very great number of them were slain, and were taken captives, man, woman and child. The prince, Hombiangymbe, was slain, which was ruler of this country, and more than one hundred of his chief lords, and their heads presented and thrown at the feet of the great Gaga. The men, women and children that were brought in captive alive, and the dead corpses that were brought to be eaten, were strange to behold. For these Gagas are the greatest cannibals and man-eaters that be in the world, for they feed chiefly upon man's flesh (notwithstanding of their) having all the cattle of that country. [727] • [266]

They settled themselves in this country and took the spoil of it. We had great trade with these Gagas, five months, and gained greatly by them. . . .

In these five months' space we made three voyages to the city of San Paul, and coming the fourth time we found them not.²

On a subsequent voyage Battell was left by 'the Portugals and Mulattos' as a hostage among the 'Benguelas', whence he escaped to 'the Great Gaga', living in his camp and helping to fight his battles during twenty-one months. His description of the life and customs of which he was a daily witness are of great interest, and

¹ 'Gingado', elsewhere spelt 'Lergado', is evidently a misprint for *Jongala*, Portuguese for 'raft'.

² Ravenstein, op. cit., pp. 19 ff.

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and the country settled down to the rule of 'the Fort' with Ndunduma's successor named by the captain-major. The occupation of Bailundu was effected at that same time,¹ while Ekuikui yet ruled, but for several years only a nominal force was employed.² In 1896 Ekuikui's successor, Numa II, attacked the fort, and the captain-major burned the *ombala*³ in retaliation. From 1890 European traders settled in both Viye and Bailundu in ever-increasing numbers.⁴ Then came the 'Bailundu War' of 1902,⁵ after which the occupation of the whole Umbundu country was quickly completed.

The operations of 1890 had only interrupted the ivory trade. The campaign of 1902 completely paralysed trade in and with the interior, and greatly aggravated a depression which the District of Benguela was feeling because of a fall from the high prices which rubber had enjoyed in 1898-9.⁶ After the war it seemed that trade would soon regain its former levels, and the export statistics show that for a time it did so, but closer inspection and a consideration of other factors which entered into the situation show that this was the beginning of the end. The price of rubber never regained its former level, so that the high value of exports reported represents an even larger quantity than before. The increased quantity largely represented a greatly debased product, for the native traders and producers understood nothing

and Garsenque, pp. 19-23) also wrote of these incidents but with more of the personal element and perhaps less accuracy.

¹ *Relatório, Benguela*, 1892, p. 13 f.

² In 1892 there were 2 soldiers in Bailundu, 135 in Viye, 21 in Caconda (*Benguela*, op. cit., 1891, p. 15). Bailundu tradition says that (native) soldiers were first brought in disguised as porters with loads of goods.

³ *Ombala*, capital village.

⁴ A. Bastos, op. cit., pp. 36, 43.

⁵ This war was named in Umbundu after the Bailundu war leader, *Mutu ya Kwele*. He is named among the kings, but it was only during the war that he assumed power. The immediate causes were excesses on the part of European residents against the natives, especially in connexion with 'the recruiting of contract labour'. The best work on the subject is in the nature of a report written by the man who was then governor, Cabral Moncada, *A Campanha do Bailundu* (Luanda 1903). General ideas may be had from *Missionary Herald*, 1903, pp. 353, 400, 438 f., 530 f.; 1904, pp. 23 f., 69 f., 122, 211 f.; H. W. Nevins, op. cit., p. 157 f.; and J. T. Tucker, *Drums in the Darkness*, p. 122 f. The account given by Kelling (*Quarante Ans de Afrique*) is of interest for certain details of this war, but its statements are inaccurate and its judgments unreliable. The missionaries sought to dissuade the natives from taking up arms, and once the fighting had begun they provided medical services for both sides and sent food-supplies to the garrison of the beleaguered Portuguese fort.

⁶ A. Bastos, op. cit., p. 39 f.

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When a woman divorces her husband to marry another man, she takes to her home all children under three years of age; other children go to the home of her parents.⁽¹⁾ There is no information concerning the fate of children when the man divorces his wife.

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Divorce cases are apparently brought before the court of the village headman only where the return of the marriage payment to the husband is long delayed or in some way unsatisfactory.⁽²⁾

LAND TENURE

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There is virtually no information on Uimbundu land usage. Childs states that land is inherited in the paternal line, i.e. by brother or son. Namby suggests that "The right to land depends on its use and allotment by a chief (?) at the time of founding a village," and that "Rights seem to have been well defined and there was always enough room for a stranger". The meaning of neither of these statements is very clear.⁽³⁾

DOMESTIC SLAVERY

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[72]

Slaves were formerly taken in war, and, until very recently, as a result of a person's inability to pay his debts. In such a case not the debtor, but the debtor's sister's children were taken as slaves by the creditor. If the debt was paid later, the children were set free.⁽⁴⁾ Today children instead of being sold into slavery may be expected to work for the creditor to pay off the debts of the mother's brother.⁽⁵⁾ Childs writes "Slaves or former slaves have a status within the household or village which to the ordinary observer does not differ from that of the children: they are treated such as the children and they may carry on in all matters social and economic as though they were members of the family". He adds however that when there is a call for labour, the lot falls more often to a slave or a pawn.⁽⁶⁾ Namby, however, notes that formerly the master had rights of punishment including the death sentence, although an ill-treated slave might appeal to the village headman. Slave women were frequently taken as concubines, but were not lent out as prostitutes. A slave woman who married a free man would report to her master along with her children when her husband died. All children of slaves became slaves of the master, who could dispose of the girls in marriage. If he himself married a slave girl, she would, at his death, become the property of his eldest brother and her children would go with her, although in some instances the woman and children might go to the mother's brother's son.

• [72]

It seems likely (although it is nowhere stated) that there was a clear distinction between slaves captured in war and slaves taken as a result of a debt; possibly the information quoted above from Namby refers mainly to war captives.

(1) Namby, op.cit., pp. 182-3.

(2) Ibid., p. 193.

(3) Namby, op.cit., p. 271. Namby states here that the system of land distribution is described in a later section of his book, but this section merely refers back to three sources.

(4) Baston (1950, p. 13) adds that if a father redeemed his children, the maternal uncle lost his right to sell them into slavery.

(5) Namby, op.cit., p. 273.

(6) Ibid., p. 42.

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undu, and Ngalangi are said to have had conflicts. In time past, 72/
as at the present day, a king reigned over territory which was
extensive but definitely delimited for purposes of administration.
Encroachment of one king on the rights of taxation and administra- 65/
tion of another led to raids and reprisals. Village chiefs collected
taxes in the form of agricultural produce and gave these to the king,
who personally visited a village from which payments had not been
made. A folklore story begins, "The people had not paid taxes
so the king came to the village and told them a parable."

A king, if young, accompanied his people on the warpath. There 726
was, however, a permanent leader named *kessongo*, a derivative from 70/
sempola ("to lead"). The declaration of war, likewise the tactics,
were discussed by a council of *olosekula* ("village chiefs") in the
esekela ("capital") where the king had, and still has, a royal com-
pound. If war had been conducted among sections of the Ovimbundu, 727 •
the defeated people had to pay taxes and tribute; moreover,
their women and cattle were taken. In event of a successful war
against the Vachokue there was plundering of cattle and women,
but it was not found practicable to exact periodical payments
from the enemy.

The subject of warfare is intimately related to that of slavery. 686
There was until very recent times a domestic slavery which followed 567
from the inability of a person to pay his debts. In connection with 672
this reduction of free persons to a condition of slavery there are
several points of exceptional interest. The debtor himself is not
taken as a slave, neither are his wife or children. The correct proce-
dure is a sale of his sister's children; but more frequently the children
themselves are taken by the creditor. "The debtor's sister will say
nothing because this is the law of the Ovimbundu." If payment of
the debt is made later, the children are set free. Usually the word
pawning is used by ethnologists to describe this proceeding.

Further consideration of Ngonga's payment to his mother's
brother clarifies the facts of domestic slavery. "I paid for them,
I took their place," said my interpreter. The payment for the
return of these two children was two oxen. The girl, who was ten
years of age when she was taken to pay the debt, was returned to
her people when she was a woman with three children. Ngonga's
brother was not actually taken from his home. He was made to
pay his mother's brother's debt by working for the creditor. In
general, these domestic slaves were not ill treated, though their
rights were limited. The position of slaves taken from a hostile 567

EDUCATION

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cages and wooden animals to use as playthings. Girls mold small animals from clay. The bull-roarer is in use as a plaything at Elende. 524

There is a game of hide and seek for boys. A knife is hidden; then a boy who has been absent for a time enters the ring marked off for the game. His proximity to the knife is indicated by playing on a musical bow. There are taps on the instrument which mean that the knife is far away. On the contrary, when the searcher approaches the hidden knife, the boy with the bow plays a distinctive note, *pelala, pelala*, meaning "pick it up, pick it up."

Boys readily make a simple apparatus for playing a game of lassoing a hoop. A pliable branch is bent so as to form a circle, then the ends are lashed together with bark strips. The lasso is a piece of rattan or bark having at each end a cornucob or a small stick three inches long. One boy bowls the hoop so that it passes in front of, and a few feet away from his opponent, who stands twenty-five feet distant. As the hoop passes in front of him, the boy throws his lasso in such a way that it twines round the hoop and brings it to the ground.

There are dances of many kinds, but Ngonga says that he would not know from the steps only what particular purpose the dance served. Several dances have been described, each in its appropriate section. There are no dances specially arranged to celebrate weddings or births. The funeral dance is described along with other ceremonies relating to interment. The medicine-man dances in connection with making rain or curing the sick. In order to say why the dance was being performed, it would be necessary to listen to the words of the songs; these are usually chanted in accompaniment to shuffling movements and the rhythm of drums. [189] 535

Some of the older men and women perform dances and sing songs that are unknown to the younger generation. Dancing is in favor during the months of May and June because there are supplies of maize for making beer. As the dry season advances the maize formerly available for making beer is consumed as food, hence dancing is not so usual. Ngonga says that the old people know a dance which should be performed at new moon "so that there will be no sickness during this moon." Older men dance in commemoration of events during past wars, while women are spectators, and on these occasions there are beer-drinking and the slaughter of an ox. A group of men keeps up a shuffling dance while an old man relates a war story in a singing voice. The oldest man is the first to cut the meat, after which each man helps himself. [127] 527